

Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

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R 300940Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7869

INFO AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

CINCPAC

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR ID US RP

SUBJECT: VIEWS OF FOREIGN MINISTER MALIK ON PRESENT SITUATION

REF A) JAKARTA 4870 B) JAKARTA 5060

1. SUMMARY: ACCORDING MALIK, IT IMMEDIATE TASK OF ASEAN COUNTRIES TO ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST REGIMES IN INDOCHINA WHILE MAINTAINING RELATIONSHIP WITH US; MAJOR OBSTACLE IS HANOI SUSPICION US WILL USE ASEAN AGAINST IT; TO HELP ASEAN US SHOULD OFFER AID TO VIET NAM AND BEGIN SLOW DISMANTLING OF BASES; ASEAN FONMINS ALMOST SURELY WILL APPROVE SUMMIT MEETING; REAL LESSON OF VIET NAM IS THAT WITHOUT INTERNAL STRENGTH COUNTRY CANNOT WITHSTAND COMMUNISM AND PROBABLE ULTIMATE FATE OF INDO- CHINA IS CONSOLIDATION UNDER HANOI. IN RESPONSE I NOTED THAT THIS IS CRITICAL TIME FOR US AS WELL AS SEA NATIONS; LATTER SHOULD TAKE THIS INTO ACCOUNT; PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON US BASES NOT HELPFUL; AND IT UNREALISTIC EXPECT US CONFIDENTIAL

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ASSISTANCE TO VIET NAM AT THIS TIME. MALIK APPEARS

SINCERELY BELIEVE MOVEMENT TOWARDS BASE DISMANTLING IMPORTANT
TO SATISFACTORY RELATIONS BETWEEN ASEAN NATIONS AND HANOI.
END SUMMARY

2. FOLLOWING VIEWS OF INDONESIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MALIK
ON PRESENT SITUATION EXPRESSED TO ME DURING PRIVATE
CONVERSATION AT HIS HOME APRIL 30:

A. PRINCIPAL IMMEDIATE TAKS FOR ASEAN COUNTRIES IS
TO ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST REGIMES IN INDOCHINA
AND AVOID PROVOCATIVE ACTIONS WHILE AVOIDING ANY DEMONSTRATION
OF WEAKNESS. AT SAME TIME, NATIONS WISH RETAIN FRUITFUL
RELATIONSHIP WITH US AND KEEP IN TOUCH WITH US ON FORM
THAT RELATIONSHIP MAY TAKE.

B. MAJOR OBSTACLE AT MOMENT IS SUSPCION OF HANOI
THAT U.S. WILL NOW SEEK TO USE ASEAN COUNTRIES TO
OPPOSE HANOI. MALIK SAID THIS IS THEME BEING PUSHED
BY NORTH VIETNAMESE AMBASSADOR IN JAKARTA WHO REFERS TO
ASEAN LINKS WITH U.S. AND CONTINUED PRESENCE U.S. BASES
AS PROOF. MALIK CITED ALSO CONCERSTION HE HAD HAD
LAST WEEK WITH FOREIGN MINISTER CHARTCHAI OF THAILAND WHO
INFORMED HIM HANOI HAD RESPONSED TO THAI REQUEST TO
NORMALIZE RELATIONS BY INSISTING THIS COULD NOT BE DONE
UNTIL U.S. BASES REMOVED. CHARTCHAI ASKED MALIK IF HE
COULD ASSURE HANOI THAT THAI BASES WOULD NOT BE USED
AGAINST INDOCHINA. MALIK SAYS HE HAS DONE SO.

C. TO HELP ASEAN COUNTRIES MEET PRESENT THREAT,
U.S. SHOULD OFFER AID TO VIET NAM AND BEGIN PROCESS
DISMANTLING BASES, EVEN IF IT TAKES FIVE YEARS. MALIK
SAYS HE HAS TOLD HANOI AMBASSADOR PROCESS OF REMOVING
BASES ALREADY BEGUN IN THAILAND.

D. ASEAN FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING IN MAY ALMOST
CERTAIN TO APPROVE SUMMIT, ALTHOUGH IT MAY BE "TOO LATE".
(MALIK DID NOT EXPLAIN WHAT HE MEANT.) HE SAID LEE
KWAN YEW AND ABDUL RAZAK STILL HOLDING OUT, BUT
MALYASIAN MINISTER FOREIGN AFFAIRS HAS INDICATED HIS
SYMPATHY FOR SUMMIT.

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E. REALS LESS ON VIET NAM IS THAT, IF INTERNAL STRENGTH
IS LACKING, COUNTRY CANNOT STAND AGAINST COMMUNISM.
NATIONAL RESILIENCE IS NOT ENOUGH; THERE MUST BE REAL
ATTENTION TO NATIONS'S PROBLEMS; THERE MUST BE DEGREE
OF DEMOCRACY WITH ADEQUATE CONTROLS.

F. RE FUTURE, MALIK DID NOT RESPOND DIRECTLY TO

QUESTION AS TO POSSIBLE OUTWARD OR SUBVERSIVE THRUST FROM COMMUNIST INDOCHINA. HE SAID HE ANTICIPATED "CONSOLIDATION" OF INDONCHINA BY HANOI WOULD PROCEED THROUGH THREE STAGES: FIRST, FOUR SEPARATE ENTITIES INCLUDING, FOR MOMENT, SEPARATE SOUTH VIET NAM; SECOND, FEDERATION OF FOUR; AND THIRDLY, TOTAL CONSOLIDATION. DURING THIS PERIOD, HE FELT CHINA AND RUSSIA WOULD BE "RESTRINGING INFLUENCE."

3. FOLLOWING MALIK'S REITERATION, IS AID THIS WAS CRITICAL TIME, NOT ONLY FOR NATIONS IN AREA, BUT FOR U.S. AS WELL. REAPPRAISAL OF OUR POLICIES UNDER WAY. IF NATIONS IN AREA WANTED OUR PRESENCE TO REMAIN, THEY SHOULD BE PARTICULARLY CONSCIOUS AT THIS TIME THAT WHAT NATIONS SAY OR DO ABOUT OUR PRESENCE WILL HAVE IMPACT ON REAPPRAISAL, ESPECIALLY IN CONGRESS. ON QUESTION BASES, FOR EXAMPLE, PUBLIC DISCUSSION OR PUBLICLY-STATED ASEAN POSITION NOT RPT NOT LIKELY BE HELPFUL EITHER TO US OR PHILLIPINES AT MOMENT WHEN WE ARE REVIEWING RELATIONSHIP.

4. WITH RESPECT AID TO VIET NAM, I WAS CERTAIN FOREIGN MINISTER APPRECIATED THAT U.S. HAD JUST BEEN THROUGH ONE OF MOST TRAUMATIC EXPERIENCES IN NATIONAL HISTORY AND THAT ANY IMMEDIATE EXPECTATION OF SENTIMENT FAVORING AID TO NEW REGIMES IN INDOCHINA UNREALISTIC. HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD, BUT WAS EXPRESSING WHAT WOULD BE DESIRABLE FROM ASEAN POINT OF VIEW.

5. COMMENT: MALIK'S VIEWS ON BASES (REF A) OBVIOUSLY NOT JUST PLAY TO CROWD. HE SEEKS CONVINCED THAT ASEAN NATIONS MUST ESTABLISH SATISFACTORY RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST INDOCHINA AND THAT "PROGRESS" TOWARD BASE DISMANTLING IMPORTANT TO THIS. HOPEFULLY, HE WILL PURSUE LINE AT ASEAN CONFIDENTIAL

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MEETING THOUGH THIS PROCESS ALREADY BEING DISCUSSED BETWEEN PARTIES AND NO NEED NOW FOR GENERAL ASEAN STATEMENT. NEED FOR SOME DIRECT CAUTION FROM MARCOS TO SUHARTO REMAINS (REF B).

6. I WILL BE SEEING MALIK AGAIN ON MAY 5 AT LOAN SIGNING IF DEPARTMENT OR NEIGHBORING POSTS HAVE ANY FURTHER POINTS THEY WISH ME MAKE TO HIM.
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